EDITOR'S DEPORTATION CASE

Government bars key records to defense at Belfrage hearing

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By John T. McManus

LEGAL barriers to prevent examination of relevant government records in the deportation case against GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage were set up by Immigration authorities last week, when the deportation hearings were resumed on Tues., Sept. 7.

Unless reversed in the courts, the rulings not only deny access to FBI and Immigration Service files on the case, but also permit government witnesses to refuse to submit to cross-examination on "closed" sessions of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The effect of this is to provide government informers with immunity from perjury charges, based on their original statements to committees and government investigators.

MARTIN BERKELEY
Sketched at the hearing

The proceedings, originally demanded by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy in May, 1953, when Belfrage refused to cooperate with the McCarthy Committee, are being held in the Immigration Dept. building at 70 Columbus Av., New York City.

SACRED NOTES: At GUARDIAN press time two witnesses had been called. The government's intention to seal off its records from the defense became apparent with the first witness, one of two FBI agents who conferred with Belfrage for four hours in 1947 and received from him a self-typed statement concerning certain of his associations during his employment here with a British government agency in 1941-43.

Belfrage's brief statement, which freely admitted association with political leftists including Communists as a part of his assignment was produced by Examining Officer Max Weinman; defense attorneys moved to place it in the record. However, the Immigration Dept. Inquiry Officer, Aaron Maltin, refused to subpena FBI notes of the full four-hour interview, which the FBI witness admitted had been made subsequent to the interview.

SUBPENAS DENIED: After the second and chief witness thus far in the hearings had refused Wednesday to testify as to the content of previous interviews with FBI, Congressional Committee and Immigration Service representatives, defense attorney Nathan Dambroff made a formal motion calling upon the Inquiry Officer to subpena the minutes of all closed sessions of Congressional committees and all material relevant to the Belfrage case in the possession of the Immigration Service and the FBI. He cited numerous precedents—two of them civil cases—for producing such material. Inquiry Officer Maltin studied the precedents offered, but eventually denied the motion. (Belfrage has never been "named" as a Communist in any known public hearing.)

The first two days of hearings were generously attended by GUARDIAN readers under some difficulties, due to a small hearing room with the entrance behind the hearing officer, making it impossible to enter the room after the hearings had started without interrupting the proceedings.

MONEY vs. MORALITY: Chief witness against Belfrage in the first two days was Martin Berkeley, a 50-year old screenwriter who has been doing the government's bidding since April, 1951. At that time he was identified before the House Un-American Activities Com-

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The fruits of Bikini

Aikichi Kuboyama, 30, one of 22 Japanese fishermen burned by H-Bomb ash as the result of the March 1 American test at Bikini, lies in a coma in a Tokyo hospital. Near death, he is comforted by his daughter, his wife and his mother. His condition, and apparent American indifference, have caused a furore in Japan. Japanese commentators charge that American press services are not reporting the full details of the illness of Kuboyama and the others. The N. Y. Times carried one-inch stories on Aug. 31 and Sept. 6.

The Communist Control Act: What is the main danger?

The author of the following article is a noted expert on constitutional law.

THE COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT of 1954 relates to two separate subjects: (1) the Communist Party, and (2) the labor unions. While most of the discussion to date has dealt with the first, the second is the more dangerous.

The Communist Party is declared by Sec. 2 of the Act to be "an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States." Accordingly, Sec. 3 declares that it is "not entitled to any of the rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies created under the laws of the U. S. or any political subdivision thereof."

The first section is a bill of attainder prohibited by Article III, Sec. 3 of the Constitution. A legislative body such as Congress cannot declare that any person or organization is "outlawed." Many years ago, the California courts in **Communist Party vs. Peek** held that the state legislature was without power to order that party off the ballot for similar reasons.

Nor is it clear what rights are intended to be taken away. The statute makes no such specification. On the contrary, it contains this seemingly contradictory phrase: "That nothing in this section shall be construed as amending the Internal Security Act of 1950, as amended." The last-named law does take away certain rights after a procedure whose legality is now being questioned in the courts. If it is not amended by this new law, it is difficult to perceive what the new law adds.

One can understand the concern which these sections caused many persons, particularly in view of the fact that what is "membership" is not always clear to anyone outside the U. S. Attorney's office. The law reflects another movement toward a fascism wrapped in the mantle of law.

But it is most unlikely that the federal government will seek to enforce these meaningless and unconstitutional provisions. The problem will arise when some city board of elections seeks to remove a political party from the ballot on the ground that it is the Communist Party or a successor. That litigation, if it reaches an appellate court, will probably result in a decision holding the law unenforceable.

THE SECOND SECTION of the Act poses extremely serious problems. It marks the logical development of labor controls which began with the Taft-Hartley Law. Students of labor union regulation in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany are aware of the large body of precedent for this action by our Congress.

The law creates a new species called "Communist-

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The outlaw law

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

It is typical of a police-state that the outlawing of a political party was made a part of the same law to destroy unions. This mad deed carries a grim contradiction. Can a body of frantic lawmakers, goaded and frightened by McCarthyism, wipe out by so many votes the realities of life that create a Communist party, or any movement of the people to better themselves?

Such an act of Congress cannot outlaw the blight of unemployment, the demand for peace, a broader democracy with equality for all, nor the struggles of labor now under attack by the same Congress.

Jeff Patrick

See Swedenborg

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

The elderly angel in the GUARDIAN looks kind of puny and discouraged, not to say lonesome.

"Only 5, going on 6"

Angels are never really lonely. Your Art Dept. should bone up on Swedenborg.

Angelocrat

A Labor Party

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I agree with your editorial calling for a rededication to building a third party movement. But it would be better to say: a labor party. For a labor party is the necessary companion of a strong labor movement, and both are necessary for progress and socialism.

Following the '54 elections, the Progressive Party should be reconstituted on a labor party basis. Thus the labor movement could be shown the way to its political destiny.

The ALP could help by running a campaign calling for a labor party, and exposing the Democratic-Republican campaigns for concentration camps, a labor front, and war. It could run a man like McAvoy — or Corliss Lamont — and unite the ALPers and independent ex-ALPers. Any other policy would be political suicide.

How about an Independent Labor Party for 1956? A perspective of eventual "coalition" with the Democratic and Liberal parties leads only to the grave.

J. G.

Strength through unity

RICHMOND, CALIF.

We progressives make a great mistake by our factionalism. Some of us are progressives, some are socialists, some are communists, some are Democrats, some in other groups. We fuss among ourselves instead of battling the enemy. Fascism has taken over the country but we are still squabbling among ourselves. The plunderbund faces the country unitedly although they have their differences and antagonisms but they have the brains to make common cause against the public.

We can convert our weakness into strength by unity. We can retain our differences but we should face the enemy unitedly.

J. M. McCullough

A Communist candidate

NEWARK, N. J.

I am the Communist Party candidate for Freeholder in Essex County. The hysterical mob action taken in Congress in outlawing the Communist Party would prevent me from appearing on the ballot as the candidate of the Communist Party.

Do you agree that the issue here is not endorsement of the Communist Party or its aims, but one of defense of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the elementary democratic rights of the American people?

If so, will you speak out now against this police state monstrosity regardless of your opinions of the Communist Party and its program?

Charles Nusser

For Marc

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

He died in the rain, in the street.
Rain fell in the country too;
The soil burst with a thousand new blades of grass.

Let it rain again in the city, and
thrust up through the asphalt
a million Marcantonios.

Jane Trivers

Heart of the nation

LORAIN, OHIO

Congratulations for the wonderful obituary editorial for Vito Marcantonio (Aug. 16), and also for the marvelous photo of the people lined up to view the funeral procession (Aug. 23). What a peerless testimony to the heart of the great fighter the faces of those people revealed! Both in the coffin and in the people—there was truly the heart of the nation!

R. Grant

Against conscription

NASHVILLE, TENN.

Surprisingly few young people realize that the 1950 Selective Act expires next July. If sufficient public pressure could be brought to bear on Congress to prevent its reenactment, a great victory would be won for the American people, and for world peace. Especially would it be a victory for the youth of the nation, for whom the future now holds such dim prospects. Today a young guy can't plan his life very far ahead. More and more youth feel that "ya gotta go sooner or later." Sometimes this gives them such resentful and reckless attitudes that they feel they must "live a little," i.e., perform illicit and illegal acts, before they get grabbed.

The main question is, how to get the people in action to prevent a new draft law, or even worse, UMT. The conditions are very good today for rallying sufficient support. If every GUARDIAN reader of draft age (and others also) could make an effort I am sure great support could be garnered. Resolutions could be introduced in organizations such as unions, NAACP, farmer organizations, Students for Democratic Action and so on. In certain areas perhaps it would be possible to set up new groups for this effort alone.

There is an organization called Natl. Council Against Conscription which has pioneered in this field. It is backed by such diverse individuals as Albert Einstein and Louis Bromfield. The address is 1013 18th St. N.W., Washington 6, D.C. This group puts out good anti-conscription literature.

A Progressive Student

She likes it

CEDAREDGE, COLO.

It seems to me that the U.S.S.R. has the only society on earth that practices what the Christians preach.

Here is a whole people engaged in being kind to its children, considerate of its neighbor, practically concerned about those who need special care, unvindictive toward its enemy; vitally interested in its daily work, eager for knowledge, determined to have peace, hungry for beauty.

This, fellow human beings, is socialism. I like it.

Marjorie Brown

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Tell me, is it really true that Mr. Dulles threatened to withdraw Douglas Fairbanks?"

He has tasted it

HADDAM, CONN.

I have some idea what you are up against in publishing a liberal paper. I had a little experience myself. It was back in 1916 I tried publishing a socialist paper, The Oklahoma Comrade, at Claremore, Okla. I was type-setter, editorial writer, pressman and house-to-house distributor. In the distribution I did have the help of loyal comrades. Gene Debs was running for President, our troops were invading Mexico and the Ludlow massacre was burning in our minds. After six months the post office dept. decided we were not entitled to a 2d class mailing privilege and confiscated our money we had been depositing at the higher rate. We saw days when the wife and kiddies did not have enough to eat.

Ernest F. McNutt

Mexican migrants

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I am deeply sorry for the migrant Mexican workers in California. I hear that they work in Mexico from sun-up until sundown for 25 cents per day; also, I hate unjust and harsh treatment for the Mexican migrants as well as for anybody else.

However, your article by Ione Kramer (Aug. 9) gives the impression that you think that the Mexicans should be allowed to cross the border in a tidal wave unrestrained, and allowed to stay in this country. I disagree wholeheartedly. We are closer to the problem than you are in N.Y., and we know that they have put thousands of Americans out of work, thru underbidding them for jobs. Also, they have caused a serious increase in crime in California.

Mr. Brownell is not the cause of their plight in their own country which is where they should stay, of course. The cause of their plight is their wicked, greedy Romanist Church, which owns everything in the country, and fills their churches with gold and silver, and adorn their idols with diamonds and rubies while the people go hungry.

Subscriber in California

On Liberty

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Spreading like rushing waters from a broken dam, a moral and political pestilence is drowning American democracy in the name of anti-communism.

The vicious denunciation of communism whipped up during the past eight years by government officials, the press and the radio, has reached degrees of national hysteria. Political freedom here is on the verge of being erased by a swelling stream of repressive laws hastily drawn and not duly debated in Congress. If this trend is not soon reversed it will end in a state of collective panic.

John Stuart Mill, in his essay **On Liberty**, defended freedom of speech on irrefutable grounds:

"The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of opinion is that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error."

A. Garcia Dias

How crazy can you get dept.

American pigeons will give a heroine's welcome today to Leaping Lena, a German carrier pigeon who hedge-hopped Soviet censors to carry an anti-Kremlin mesage through the Iron Curtain, the Crusade for Freedom announced yesterday.

At [Idlewild] Airport 1,000 pigeons, released by local fanciers, will welcome Lena. Four hero pigeons of World War II will serve on the reception committee. . . .

—N. Y. Times

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. This week's winner: R. L., Greenport, N. Y.

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"And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat."—ISAIAH 65: 21-22.

REPORT TO READERS

'Jefferson in Power' — a parallel for today

THE ISSUANCE of Claude Bowers' **Jefferson in Power** as the September selection of Liberty Book Club gives GUARDIAN readers the opportunity to achieve a breakthrough for traditional democratic ideas and actions at a time when the need for them could hardly be more urgent and apparent.

Mr. Bowers, a top diplomat in the Roosevelt years, is America's foremost historian of the Jeffersonian era, but his books have never before been available to the public at less than $5. Liberty Book Club last year obtained re-issuance rights to Bowers' monumental **Jefferson and Hamilton,** written in 1925. It distributed it as the March, 1954, selection and later in the year as a book dividend for new members.

Jefferson and Hamilton chronicles the epoch-making political conflict in the first decade of United States between the democratic purposes of the mass of American colonists and the determination of a rich and powerful few, guided by Hamilton, to seize the new nation's resources for profit.

USING WASHINGTON, the victorious general of the Revolution, during the first Presidency, and his successor John Adams, the forces represented by Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury climaxed their push for absolute power with the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 and a drive for war with France, which had just won its popular revolution. Coupled with the bitter campaign against France's sympathizers was a series of moves for reconciliation and alliance with Great Britain, the American colonists' enemy in the American Revolution.

The parallels between the decade of Washington and Adams and the similar decline of democracy under Truman and Eisenhower are striking: the suppression of political opinion; the plundering; the determination to halt popular government anywhere in the world; the attempted re-alliance with the recently defeated enemy. These combine to make this period of American history the one most important for popular understanding today.

Jefferson, Madison and other democratic leaders of the day were all but driven underground by the reactionary government, the demagogic appeals to public passion against France. But within two years Jefferson had won the Presidency and America's first era of democratic rule lay ahead.

How the Jeffersonians reversed the reactionary drive of their time is the vital lesson for today in **Jefferson in Power.** In the present-day age of "how-to" books, this step-by-step story of Jefferson's two terms as President is by long odds the most useful lesson in reconstruction that present-day Americans can find in their own history for the needs of today's crisis. It should be brought to as wide public attention as possible.

THAT LIBERTY BOOK CLUB should be re-issuing **Jefferson in Power** as the Washington of today is signing death warrants for political dissent is no coincidence. It is rather the result of a careful policy of book selection and publication based on political appreciation of current needs in reading matter.

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WILL FRANCO REPLACE FRANCE?

Unrest threatens a U.S.-Madrid-Bonn Axis

By Tabitha Petran

FRANCE'S REJECTION of EDC led to a feverish scramble among Western leaders to salvage something from what the N.Y. **World-Telegram** (8/31) called "the wreckage of NATO." These things became clear:

- A Washington-Bonn move was in the making to overthrow the government of Premier Mendes-France and demote France in the Western alliance in favor of Spain.
- France was working to establish an understanding with Britain on German policy.

FRANCO'S STRATEGY: The N.Y. **Times** (9/3) reported that a series of U.S. moves in European capitals; Sen. Wiley's bitter denunciation of the French government for rejecting EDC, and W. German Chancellor Adenauer's efforts to exclude France from allied discussions on EDC alternatives has convinced many western diplomats that "Washington and Bonn were maneuvering to quarantine and if possible to overthrow the Mendes-France government."

Franco Spain has long calculated its policy on this deterioration of U.S. relations with France. It has set its sights with Pentagon encouragement on becoming one of two pillars (the other is W. Germany) supporting Washington's control of W. Europe. U.S. bases in Spain, acquired in the Aug., 1953, military pact, loom over British and French strongholds in the Mediterranean, form one arm of a pincers around France.

Kontakt, Oslo

Recently Spain has been "getting more planning" (U.S. **News**, 8/6) and is increasingly extolled in Washington as the ranking anti-communist ally.

TWO MAIN ELEMENTS: The Pentagon-Franco vision of a Washington-Madrid-Bonn Axis astride all W. Europe is not likely to be realized: in Spain the new Axis is being forged too late. Opposition to Franco has invaded the bulwarks of his regime—the army and the church. The 1953 alliance with the U.S., and the same year's Concordat with the Vatican (designed among other things to rescue Franco from a developing internal crisis), are now undermining his regime, not strengthening it.

The underground Republican opposition, united and with broad support, is carefully awaiting its hour. New in the present situation are:

- The disaffection developing in the "classic right," the old oligarchy whose class prejudices, role in the overthrow of the Republic and stake in the Franco regime are so vividly described by Claude Bowers, Roosevelt's Ambassador to Spain (**My Mission to Spain**, Simon & Schuster, 1954).
- The friction between the old oligarchy and the official fascist Falange Party.

THE SUCCESSION: The process most likely will be a long one; but the ingredients for the collapse of Franco's dictatorship are already mixed. In that land, where oppression enforces a sepulchral silence even on the regime's supporters, the growing unrest of recent months has found expression in a surprisingly open debate over "the law of the succession"—that is, what happens when Franco will no longer be around to hold together the rival forces in the dictatorship. The fear of another struggle for power feeds the present antagonisms within the regime.

A FINE CHRISTIAN GENTLEMAN, SEN. McCARRAN CALLED HIM
The Generalissimo is visited by another admirer, Cardinal Spellman

A pamphlet circulated by Madrid students this summer strikingly exposes the roots of this fear. It points out that Franco has ruled for 15 years by posing the dilemma "Franco or Communism," and it asks:

> ". . . But what will happen when the first horn of the dilemma, Franco, disappears? Will the fact that he can't survive the institution of Communism mean that Communism must master Spain? . . . The day Franco dies could be an evil day for Spain but the morrow will be a bloody one or a new victory for anarchy which will demand a new July 18 [the date in 1936 when Franco launched his civil war]."

ARMY IS RESTLESS: The Paris **Le Monde**'s authoritative correspondent in Spain Jean Creach reported (7/17) that unrest over the succession was "spreading and multiplying in army, church, the universities and even the ranks of the Falange." Most dangerous for Franco is the stirring in the Army, always the real basis of his power. High-ranking officers, resentful over his failure to restore the monarchy, are now openly making pro-monarchy gestures. Gen. Sanchez, commander of the entire Catalonia military region, on his own initiative gave full public honors to Pretender Don Juan's representative during his Barcelona visit last spring—and Franco dared take no reprisals.

Later a group of generals visited Franco to demand that he make good his promise to restore the monarchy. Among the monarchist Army leaders are Gen. Kindelan, former commander of the air force, and the officers around him, and Gen. Garcia Volino, commander of Spanish Morocco. Madrid, remembering that Franco's rebellion was hatched in Morocco, uneasily watches Volino's every move.

WORRIED CHURCH: To the Army Franco is becoming a usurper who has remained in power too long (Primo de Rivera's dictatorship lasted 7 years and even that was too long for the generals), and whose monopoly of power no longer serves their interests. Unrest has deepened with the arrival of U.S. military missions whose popularity may be judged by the fact that they do not wear uniforms. While welcoming U.S. money and weapons, Spanish officers detest the intervention of U.S. military personnel. Washington, well aware of the colossal graft and corruption in the distribution of its "aid," is making some attempt to control it.

Recent worsening of Franco's relations with the Catholic Church has two sources: (1) the disquiet in religious circles over the problem of the succession; (2) the anti-clericalism developing throughout Spain since the Concordat. Creach said (4/8) that the Concordat had "inspired reservations all over Spain, reservations which have so developed that they are manifest today even in the army, the first partisan of the regime."

CONTROL OF SCHOOLS: The Falange, seeking to capitalize on this new anti-clericalism, launched the new orientation last February in **Arriba**, followed it with a strong attack on "Christian Democracy" through Franco's spokesman, Fernandez Cuesta. Creach saw in "the very official character" of these attacks evidence that "the resentment toward the Church has traveled faster and more deeply than had been thought."

The Church-Falange conflict has been sharpened by the fact that Franco—in order to counter the pressure of the monarchist generals—has turned increasingly to the Falange, which is basically hostile to the monarchy. The Church sees in the Falange attitudes a threat to the authority of its friends as well as the danger of "paganization."

Since the Concordat, which gave the Church complete control of education, the Church and Falange have been at war over the schools. And fully realizing, as the Archbishop of Valencia said, that "the immense proletarian mass does not love the Church, perhaps even hates the Church," the Church has conducted a "vigorous" social program to undermine the Falange's pose as the workers' champion.

A RISK IS TAKEN: The Church replied to the regime's attacks with a strong statement, June 29, by its highest authority, Cardinal Pla Y Daniel, divesting itself of responsibility for the regime. Creach (7/21) reported this was designed "to give the impression that it deprived the regime, nourished by the Falange, of its support." He called it a warning that the Church

> ". . . has carefully weighed the risks between upholding a nefarious regime, safe for the church now but perilous for its future, and dissociating itself from the regime in order to increase the chances for a change, whose evolution it could control and which will increase the future guarantees of the faith in Spain. It has chosen the latter risk."

Franco took notice of the growing agitation in a bitter speech at Salamanca, May 8, denouncing "the traitors of Spain" and "those who maliciously think we have been in power too long." Then, after stern warnings to the Church, he met with Don Carlos, son of the Pretender, and inspired reports that he planned to restore the monarchy when the young prince completed his training. But Don Carlos' father Don Juan has steadfastly refused to abdicate in favor of his son and the reports, like the meeting, are regarded as meaningless gestures designed to quiet unrest.

THE NEW FORCES: Like any dictator, Franco is reluctant to think of a successor; but the real problem of the succession is the difficulty of holding together the increasingly antagonistic elements of a regime which has ruined the nation. Franco has failed to win the youth of Spain, a factor of prime importance for the future. The poverty and misery of the Spanish people is comparable to that of Asia's poorest areas. For all the U.S. dollars, Franco can hold out no prospect for improvement. A recent movie made in Spain, **Bienvenido Mr. Marshall**, subtly satirizing the regime and U.S. aid, made this clear.

Above all, the Spanish people, including the neutralists and many former supporters of Franco, deeply resent the fact that, to save his own skin, Franco has made Spain the most exposed country in Europe in event of war. The Republican opposition circulated throughout all Spain on the 9th anniversary of Hiroshima a leaflet with a picture showing the destruction there and captioned: "This awaits you."

By casting Spain into the cold war and making it a U.S. atomic base, Franco has ended the stagnation which has permitted him to rule for 15 years; he has unleashed forces within Spain which will ultimately doom his regime.

Spanish vets and the censors

A MAJOR government instrument to enforce thought control in the U.S. is the SACB (**Subversive Activities Control Board**), established by the 1950 Internal Security Act and now given broad new jurisdiction under the law outlawing the Communist Party. Amendments to the 1950 Act in the new law bear out predictions by groups already hauled before SACB as "subversive" that SACB's target would eventually be the whole American people.

Yet most Americans are dimly aware of the SACB's existence or of the government's first step under this sweeping sedition law. Hearings for organizations already under attack, although nominally open to the public, have been largely ignored by the press and in effect held privately.

NO AUDIENCE WANTED: The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, one of SACB's first targets, after three months of unpublicized hearings in Washington, will open its defense in New York Sept. 13. As a result of interest apparently stirred by Congress' performances in its closing days, CBS proposed to televise portions of the VALB hearing for Eric Sevareid's American Week show. VALB promptly welcomed the proposal; the Justice Dept. as promptly rejected it. VALB, in a letter to Atty. Gen. Brownell, urged him to "overcome your understandable fear of public opinion," said:

> "This refusal to allow the public to view the proceedings fits into the pattern of semi-secrecy which surrounds all these hearings. . . . The public is entitled to know exactly how SACB works. The Administration has stated in the most urgent and emphatic terms that it considers SACB one of its major accomplishments. We who are accused of being subversive have no fear of a public hearing. The more people who know about our case the better for us and for them."

Letters to Brownell urging reversal of the decision and attendance at the VALB hearings (U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square, N.Y., Room 35, 10-12 a.m. and 2-4 p.m. beginning Sept. 13) are one way to help to break the silence on the operations of SACB.

A PSYCHIATRIST'S SPOTLIGHT ON JUVENILE CRIME

What horror comics are doing to our kids

By Ione Kramer

THE whole nation has been appalled and bewildered by last month's "thrill killings" committed by four Brooklyn teen-agers. Readers of Dr. Fredric Wertham's recent book **Seduction of the Innocent** compared the incidents and the youths' comments with dozens of case-histories cited in Wertham's exposure of one aspect of the cult of violence—comic books, "not the disease . . . only the symptom," over which many children pore for six or more hours a day.

The connection, if any, between comic books and the young Brooklyn sadists is as yet unknown, but many of their acts seemed straight out of comics: beating of two elderly men, kicking a man to death, pouring gasoline over a man and igniting it. One youth's comment that he hit the men as hard as he could "for sheer enjoyment" tallies with more than one comic "villain" who "kills for pleasure," calls his brutality a "great adventure." The Brooklyn youths' "supreme adventure" was burning with cigarettes the feet of a sleeping Negro, beating him and throwing him in the river to drown. It resembles a comic sequence in which a pilot drops bombs and a Negro man without parachute from a plane, while shouting "Bombs and bums away."

"CONTEMPT FOR BUMS": Comics foster race-hatred, Wertham charges, by depicting dark-skinned people as subhuman and thus rationalizing violence. The leader of the Brooklyn youths had contempt for "bums."

One of the boys whipped two 16-year-old girls with a length of braided horsehide while the others looked on. On this theme in the comics Wertham commented:

"Graphic description of sexual flagellation on the buttocks is frowned upon by the Post Office—if it occurs in adult books. But in a typical comic book for children such erotic scenes are described in detail. The villain—a foreigner, of course—[tells] the half-nude girl: 'I know that you shall love me and shall be loyal after you have taken a dozen or so lashes across your beautiful back!' . . . In Western comic books, the erotic spanking of a girl by a man is frankly featured."

THE SWASTIKA: The comic books' "special perversion" is that "they cultivate most of all sadism." Wertham cites one sequence of an erotic hanging, where the man "kills for sport." (The same day the Brooklyn story broke, the papers carried a small story about a 13-year-old boy who hanged himself. Wertham cites many cases where children have hanged themselves while playing the 'games" they saw in comics.) The sexual content of many children's comics is little different from that in surreptitious pornographic literature "for adults" except that "in one it is a question of attracting perverts, in the other of making them."

Newspaper reports said one of the Brooklyn youths had his room full of swastikas and German helmets. Wertham tells of the comic-book girl who reminisces about the 'wonderful" past —when she was the wife of a concentration camp guard. "I like to remember the prisoners suffering, the beatings and the blood," she says. "In comic books, life is worth nothing; there is no dignity of a human being," said a person Wertham interviewed.

SADISM WITH MUSIC: Today four times as many comics are published by the $100 million industry as in 1948. Referring to the "I'll poke your eye out" theme common to many comics, Wertham writes: "The children of the early forties pointed [it] out . . . to us as something horrible. The children of 1954 take it for granted. A generation is being desensitized by these literal horror images."

One of the comic characters hammers the message home: "One gets accustomed to brutality after a while." The four Brooklyn youths reportedly read good books, two were musically inclined.

Yet educators and psychologists in the pay of the industry have used their prestige to publish "independent" studies proving comics are not harmful. Among these, according to the Kefauver committee, are Dr. Jean A. Thompson, acting director, Bureau of Child Guidance, Board of Education, N. Y. C.; Sidonie Gruenberg, director, and Josette Frank, children's reading consultant, Child Study Assn.; Harvey Zorbaugh, Prof. of Education, N.Y. University; Dr. Lauretta Bender, child psychiatrist, Bellevue Hospital, N. Y. C.

THE HOLLOW DEFENSE: Wertham effectively demolishes the arguments used by the industry to confuse parents:

● **Crime comics prevent juvenile delinquency by pointing out that "crime does not pay."** For every page that shows "punishment" of crime (in most cases merely a violent end), there are dozens describing details of how to commit one. Comics direct children's interest toward wrong, not right, lead them to identify with the strong man, even if he's the crook.

● **Crime comics are not typical; there are "good" comics, even "classics."** Less than 1% of the 90 million comic books published each month are of the "good" type, usually the "animal" type of interest only to very young children. Even "harmless" animal comics feature the "injury-to-the-eye motif." A typical history comic book describing "Your United States" shows scenes of violence for nearly every state; a man hanged from a tree by a 'vigilante committee'; Negroes in chains; corpses and dying men; "a girl tied to a tree, her bound wrists above her head, her skirt blowing up in the wind and a coy facial expression of fright as in a sadist's dream; a girl about to be raped or massacred." Classics in comics are reduced to their lowest common denominator of violence; librarians say they cannot cite a case where a comic has made a child want to read the original classic.

● **Fairy tales contain just as much violence as comics.** Who says the violence in fairy tales is a good thing? But as Dr. J. G. Auerbach of the Lafargue Clinic points out: "Children who play fairy tales would have a hard time having someone actually eat Red Riding Hood. But they can and do try to bind, gag, and stick each other with sharp instruments as they see it so realistically in comic books. . . . The element of fantasy in most fairy tales . . . makes it possible to separate tragedy and mischief from everyday life."

● **Comic books are a healthy release for children's aggression.** "The most insidious thesis," says Wertham. They help people to get rid, not of their aggressions, but of their inhibitions against anti-social acts. They "give release to only one aggression—that of the comic book industry."

● **Crime comics don't affect well-adjusted children, only emotionally unstable ones.** It is a mistake to ignore mass influences (including TV) which surround a child so many hours of his day, says Wertham, citing case after case of children from good homes who committed delinquencies, baffled the authorities until the relation to comics was suggested by the children themselves. Crime comics are not an individual but a social problem; parents may think their children don't read them, but even a child who really doesn't plays with a majority of his friends who do and have been conditioned to violence. It is a thing that no one family can fight alone.

WHAT CAN BE DONE? Wertham recommends a law forbidding the display and sale of comic books containing objectionable material to children under 15. Since 1948 there have been several attempts at such a law, notably in California, and 27 comic-book bills introduced into state legislatures, but the comics industry has maneuvered them out of existence on technicalities. Instead they offer their own industry's regulatory code to which they do not adhere and soon forget about.

In France, where one paper said that "with such methods, hardly different from those used by the Nazi regime, were S. S. men made," American comics are now subject to a review commission, with 500,000-franc fines and a year in jail if publishers don't "clean up." So far 25 comics have been prosecuted. Under Canada's Fulton Act, 25 comics may not be sold. American comics are banned in Sweden, Holland, S. Africa, Portugal and E. European countries. In Britain they have been the subject of petitions and debates in parent-teacher groups, learned societies and Parliament. Italy, Belgium, Australia, Austria, Mexico, Brazil and Egypt also have movements to control them.

Wertham says he does "not advocate censorship" of comics here; he recognizes but does not solve the tremendous problems that would arise in enforcing control laws without opening a door to other, dangerous forms of censorship.

SEDUCTION OF THE INNOCENT, by Fredric Wertham, M. D. Rinehart & Co., 232 Madison Av., New York. 397 pp. $4.

SEX AND WHIPS—WITH LASH AND GUN

This tidbit for tiny tots is from "Famous Funnies," and the strip is called "Tom Terriss and the Queen of Taureg."

FREDRIC WERTHAM

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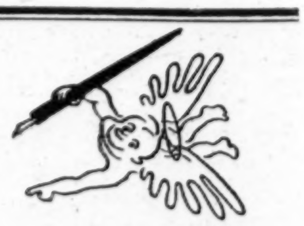

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The big push is on to force UMT through next Congress

By Lawrence Emery

FOR MORE than a century and a half popular opposition to compulsory conscription for military service has been one of the most powerful of U.S. traditions. The country was founded and settled by millions who fled the hated conscript armies of Europe. Every effort since George Washington's day to establish the system here has been beaten down.

But last week, getting an early start, the big brass and the jingoists—backed by the ex-General who is President—began what will be the most massive campaign ever waged to put a conscription law on the books at the next Congress convening in January.

Last big fight against peacetime conscription, called Universal Military Training by its proponents, was fought and won in 1952. A year earlier Harry

S. Truman had signed into law the Military Draft and Training Act which extended Selective Service to July 1, 1955, and set up a five-man Natl. Security Training Commission to draft a plan for UMT.

800,000 A YEAR: Such a plan was duly submitted to Congress; it provided that all males at 18 be called up for six months' military training and then assigned to the reserves for seven and a half years, subject to recall at any time. In full operation the plan would have trained 800,000 men a year with an eventual goal of up to 6,400,000 in the organized reserves. Cost of the plan the first year was estimated at $4,000,000,000; thereafter it would go down to $2,000,000,000 a year.

Chances of passage at the time seemed good. But when public hearings were opened, Congress was flooded with protests from every corner of the country and from every conceivable variety of organizations. On March 4, 1952, the House voted it down by a vote of 236 to 162.

Gen. Eisenhower was mindful of this popular opposition when he campaigned in 1952; he spoke softly on UMT and on occasion even seemed to oppose it. On Oct. 2 that year he said:

"We have the Selective Service. Let us not have anything else piled on top of that until we solve this problem [Korea]. Then, let us all sit down together, mothers, fathers and young men. . . ."

THE NEW "MINUTEMEN": But in July, 1953, President Eisenhower filled three vacancies in the old Natl. Security Training Commission and directed it to deliver a new UMT plan by Dec. 1. The Commission is headed by Brig. Gen. Julius O. Adler, vice-president and general manager of the N.Y. Times, and includes Dr. Karl T. Compton, head of the Mass. Institute of Technology (he died last June); Warren Atherton, a former natl. commander of the American Legion; Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain; and Adm. (Ret.) Thomas C. Kincaid. The Commission's report, titled "Twentieth Century Minutemen," was made public on Dec. 14, 1953.

It had a new name for UMT—National Security Training—but the principle, universal compulsory conscription, was the same:

"When Natl. Security Training is fully operative, almost every physically qualified young man in the civilian labor force will have a Reserve obligation. . . . All fit young men of 18 should enter the NST pool upon registering with the Selective Service system."

The report proposed a start on Jan. 1, 1955, with at least 100,000 entering the training corps for six months to be followed by seven and a half years in the Reserves subject to first call for active duty. To keep Selective Service going at the same time, all young men registering would draw lots to determine which would be assigned to the six-month training and Reserve program and which would serve the regular two-year tour of active duty in the armed forces—which would be followed by a six-year assignment in the Reserves.

KILLERS NEEDED: The plan had the blessing of Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, who had startled many an American early in 1951 when he said on a radio broadcast:

"Yes, I have said that we need killers. I prefer to tell the truth bluntly than to try to make young men think they're going on a picnic when they get into the service."

But the plan was shuttled back and forth between agencies of the Defense Dept. and no effort was made to present it to Congress in this election year. In July the Pentagon, through then Asst. Secy. of Defense John A. Hannah, came up with a "modified" plan, but it was still UMT. Hannah was embarrassingly frank as he unfolded the plan to the press:

"The whole thing is geared to the day of active war with the Soviet Union. . . . Everyone up to the President agrees that we must have an effective Reserve to meet the requirements of war with the Soviets—and that is the only war that counts."

LEGION'S "BEST CHANCE": To take some of the edge off Hannah's too-blunt words, the White House announced that his presentation of the plan did "not reflect fully the attitude of the Natl. Security Council"; but later Defense Secy. Charles E. Wilson publicly endorsed the plan. It provides for universal military service with the regular military forces maintained at a strength of 3,047,000 beginning a year from now, and a Ready Reserve, subject to direct and immediate call, of 3,055,894. The annual draft would be maintained at 300,000 at the rate of 25,000 a month. Wilson explained that "practically all young men" would undergo military training.

Last week the American Legion convention, conveniently held in Washington, D.C., was chosen for the kick-off of the new drive for compulsory conscription. (The Legion has been campaigning for it since 1920.) Edgar Shelton, exec. dir. of the Natl. Security Training Commission, told Legion chiefs: "You'll have the best chance since 1951." Army Vice Chief of Staff Charles L. Bolte told them:

"We have reached the conclusion that it is impossible to attain the minimum required strength in reserve units by voluntary methods."

NO. 1 JOB, IKE SAYS: Ex-Legion commander Atherton, although a Presidential appointee on the Training Commission, apparently wasn't sure of the President's position; he advised the Legion not to wait "for President Eisenhower to make up his mind—let's lay it right on the doorstep of Capitol Hill." But the next day the President himself set them straight; in an address to the convention he charged the U.S. has "failed miserably" to maintain a strong and ready reserve and said:

"Establishment of an adequate reserve—an objective for which the American Legion and other patriotic organizations have vainly fought for a generation—will be a number one

item submitted to the Congress next year. . . . Wishful thinking and political timidity must no longer bar a program so absolutely essential to our defense."

Legion leaders, feeling that it is "now or never" for UMT, pledged a campaign with all the stops out. This time it will be a showdown fight.

On the bearing of arms

What does integrity in a democratic context prompt young men to do in the present international situation? Suppose, for instance, a young man called up for military service were to say, without cowardice and in all honesty: "This is 1952. You, my country to which I am deeply committed, have brought me up to believe in democracy and have educated me to act responsibly. I cannot become a soldier in your wars until you convince me that more war in the present state of the world is intelligent and democratically responsible. . . ." When and how in this managed society of "top secrets" and public-relations handouts does a citizen brace his feet and ask "Why?"

—Robert Lynd, The Nation, Dec. 27, 1952.

●

St. Peter was ordered by lawful authority not to preach in the name of Jesus, and he said he had to obey God rather than man. . . . Over and over again, men had to disobey lawful authority to follow the voice of their conscience. . . . It is time again to cry out against our "leaders," to question whether or not, since it is not for us to say that they are evil men, they are sane men.

—Dorothy Day, Catholic Worker, April, 1954

●

. . . The very essence of the Charter [under which the four-nation Nuremberg war crime court was set up] is that individuals have international duties which transcend the national obligations of obedience imposed by the individual State. . . . The Charter specifically provides: "The fact that the defendant acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior shall not free him from responsibility. . . ."

—Judgment of the Intl. Military Tribunal on Nazis charged with "crimes against peace, war crimes, crimes against humanity," Oct. 1, 1946.

CALENDAR

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Chicago

PEACE RALLY. Hear ANTON REFREGIER "What I Saw In Guatemala" and trade unionist on "Peace and the November Elections." Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. Chopin Center, 1547 No. Leavitt. Admission: 50c. Auspices: American Peace Crusade.

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Four years later

TRUCKSVILLE, PA.

Many of my friends are much closer to my point of view than they were four years ago, due to such exposures as the Army-McCarthy hearings. Two years ago friends and even members of my family were ready to tear into me at any criticism of McCarthy. Today they are in full accord that he is Public Enemy No. 1.

I have in all this time quoted at length from the GUARDIAN, sent clippings around, and derived much information from it that I could never have obtained elsewhere. Both my husband and I extend our congratulations upon the GUARDIAN's courage, unmatched by any other publication of our acquaintance.

Charlotte Lance

Belfrage hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

mittee by a screenwriter associate, Richard Collins, as a former member of the Communist Party. When he was named in 1951, Berkeley wired a denial to the committee and demanded Collins be held for perjury. But, by his own admission, the specter of losing his $1,000-a-week status as a screenwriter brought about a change of heart. Berkeley finally appeared voluntarily before the committee and named 165 others as Communists over a 7-year period beginning in 1937. He admitted he had done this after months of preparation and as many as 40 conferences each with Committee representatives and FBI agents. Some of the 165 he had not known personally but professed to have seen only once or twice.

Belfrage's name was not among Berkeley's original 165, but in late 1951 or early 1952 Berkeley appears to have signed a statement for Immigration authorities adding Belfrage's name to his list.

ANYWAY, A STREET: Berkeley's direct testimony in last week's hearings was apparently for the particular purpose of identifying Belfrage as a Communist in Hollywood in 1937 under a Party name of "George Oakden." He said he himself had become a Communist in 1936 in New York and had his membership transferred to Hollywood in 1937.

Berkeley identified Belfrage at the hearing as "the gentleman with glasses in his hand sitting between the two ladies" (attorneys Blanch Freedman and Gloria Agrin) and said he had attended a "closed" meeting of the Communist Party in 1937 or early '38 at Belfrage's home on "Ogden Avenue, Street or Drive. . . ." He followed this with elaborate gestures as if searching his memory and then said that the street name may have been "Oakden . . . Oakden Avenue, Street or Drive."

TRUSTWORTHY: He then testified that he had known Belfrage for a year or a year and a half prior to this alleged meeting. He said he knew Belfrage as a Communist "through the circumstances under which I first met him." These circumstances were, he said, a party "some time in 1937" at the home of Lionel Stander at which Stander introduced Belfrage to him as "a trustworthy person."

At Weinman's urging, Berkeley characterized "trustworthy" as having a "special meaning." Over strenuous objections by defense attorney Dambroff against any special characterization of a perfectly good English-American word, Berkeley was permitted to define "trustworthy" as meaning "we were both members of the Communist Party."

BLACK OR WHITE? He attended the closed meeting at Belfrage's house, he then testified, as a member of the CP "section committee" to meet the Rev. Claude Williams and to discuss the possibility of "using the Hollywood CP organism for raising money for Commonwealth College." (He later said the decision was no, but that "Comrade Reverend Williams" could solicit funds from individuals.)

He testified that he knew Belfrage then also as "George Oakden" and had remembered this particularly (here the confusion between "Ogden or Oakden Street, Avenue or Drive" quickly cleared up) because Belfrage lived on Oakden Drive and had claimed authorship of an article appearing in a publication, "either **The Clipper** or **Black and White**," under the byline of George Oakden. (In cross-examination it was brought out that **The Clipper** was a publication which succeeded **Black and White** some time in the 1940's; and that the first appearance of the by-line "George Oakden" in **Black and White** was not until 1940, three years after Berkeley claimed to have known Belfrage as George Oakden because of this circumstance.)

JOE'S FINE HAND: In cross-examination, attorney Dambroff subjected Berkeley's veracity to a withering attack, despite a ceaseless crossfire of government objections, adding up to implications that:

- Berkeley's story of knowing Belfrage as a Communist in 1937 under a party name of George Oakden was first suggested to him by the FBI and immigration authorities no earlier than 1951 or early 1952.
- Berkeley's decision to "co-operate" with the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee was because being named as a Communist himself "scared the pants off you" (as Dambroff suggested) and threatened his $1,000-a-week screenwriting career.

NAME-DROPPER: Berkeley is a thick-necked, well-preserved individual whose testimony is punctuated with bravado passages and name-dropping tactics now a familiar characteristic of the FBI's flock of trained-seal witnesses. By his own statement a Communist for some seven years, he at one point in Wednesday's cross-examination professed to draw "no distinction between a Communist and a Fascist."

Questioned about numerous speeches before the American Legion and conservative groups since he became a "co-operative" government witness, he launched upon an uncalled-for defense of the Legion as a "typically American mass organization" and offered a new definition of a conservative: "An individual who believes in conserving the best elements of our society."

Attorney Dambroff in cross-examination drew admissions from Berkeley of many sessions with FBI and House Committee representatives prior to his testimony before the Un-AAC in September, 1951; then he asked Berkeley to explain why Belfrage's name had never been mentioned among the 165 people he identified as Hollywood Communists dating back to 1937.

THE "GOOD CITIZEN": Berkeley said Belfrage's name had been on a list which he had been told by Committee representatives not to divulge publicly, "and I do as I am told." He denied possession of this list now, adding that he might have given it to the FBI or he might have burned it, for reasons he refused to explain.

"You were an extremely co-operative witness, weren't you?" Dambroff asked.

"Ker-rect!" Berkeley replied, adding that he considered it the duty of all good citizens to co-operate with government agencies such as the FBI. He said he had held himself available for such co-operation since Sept., 1951.

"Is that the date you became a good citizen?" Dambroff asked, bringing forth a volley of objections from government counsel. Dambroff nevertheless pursued the point, asking Berkeley whether he had kept his list and made it available to the FBI prior to 1951. Berkeley said he did not recall whether or not he had.

A MATTER OF PRIDE: "Isn't it a fact that those who have refused to become informers, like you, have been blacklisted?" Dambroff asked. Berkeley spluttered but Dambroff persisted:

"You are an informer, aren't you? . . . Aren't you an informer?"

Berkeley shouted that he was "proud to be called an informer by people like you" but the Inquiry Officer intervened, cautioning Dambroff to use "less provocative terms."

Berkeley admitted that all names on his various "lists" were not from his own memory, that some might have been suggested by the FBI. He refused to answer, under FBI instruction, any questions concerning his conversations with the FBI, including whether he had ever had a conversation about Belfrage. He testified, however, to an interview with Immigration officials in late 1951 or early '52 concerning Belfrage, as a result of which he said he had provided a written statement.

When Dambroff asked that this statement be produced, government counsel said the document was "confidential, assuming that it exists" and refused to agree to produce it. The Inquiry Officer, sustaining government counsel, declared the matter irrelevant. At this point Dambroff exploded: "Nothing could be more relevant!" His demand for the document was denied.

THE NAME "OAKDEN": Berkeley had his rockiest moments trying to make his identification of Belfrage with "George Oakden" stick. He had testified that Belfrage used the name Oakden and he the name Martin Porter in extra-curricular writings. After it had been shown that the name "Geoge Oakden" did not appear as a by-line in the magazine **Black and White** until 1940, he was shown a copy of **New Masses** for December, 1937, with a story bylined "by Martin Porter and George Oakden." He could not recall any collaboration with Belfrage on this or any other article, nor that he himself had contributed to the writing of it.

Dambroff introduced in evidence many issues of **New Masses** for the period 1937-39, including one with an article by Belfrage entitled "Politics Catches Up with the Writer" (evidencing that Belfrage wrote for **New Masses** and other publications under his own name, and not a pen name) and others containing articles by dozens of non-Communists ranging from Margaret Sanger and Ralph Bunche to Sir Stafford Cripps and Robert Benchley.

Berkeley was still scheduled to be on the stand the day after the GUARDIAN went to press, and the hearings to continue at least through Monday, Sept. 13.

THE GUARDIAN'S EDITOR AND ATTORNEY BLANCH FREEDMAN
This photo was taken outside the Immigration Service building

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THE SITUATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA—II

What confronted Dulles at the SEATO conference in Manila

By Kumar Goshal

(Second of a 2-part series.)

SECY. Dulles has gone to Manila, P. I., "to bring to a climax five months of effort to form a S. E. Asian alliance (SEATO)" (N. Y. **Times**, 8/30). Advised by every U. S. ambassador east of Suez "to go easy on the talk of military power and emphasize . . . security through co-operation in the fields of social and economic welfare" (**NYT**, 8/8), Dulles was armed with a S. E. Asia economic co-operation project worked out by the Foreign Operations Administration.

S. E. Asia is one of the world's economically backward regions where people live in incredible poverty amid vast potential riches. Admittedly, improvement of their condition would require:

- Elimination of feudal land-tenure systems, agricultural modernization to increase yield from the land;
- Harnessing the region's human and mineral resources to build a modern, industrial society;
- Working by a well-co-ordinated plan to achieve these in the shortest possible time.

RICHER RICH, POORER POOR: S. E. Asians have little reason to believe in U. S.-Western co-operation to fulfill their aspirations on the basis of past policies: direct or indirect domination of under-developed countries to exploit their raw materials and cheap labor for exorbitant profits. In Latin America, as the N. Y. **Times** put it mildly (5/30), Washington asked little of the dictatorships "except generous treatment for, and protection of, U. S. business interests." During and after World War II, Washington displayed an unseemly greed for acquiring its allies' colonial investments and penetrating their economic preserves in Asia and Africa.

There are evidences of U. S. opposition to any basic changes in the economic pattern of under-developed countries. The highly-publicized Point Four and U. S. Technical Co-operation programs have been geared largely to help increase these countries' output of raw materials to make up U. S. deficiencies. Occasional aid given to improve agricultural methods has helped make rich landlords richer and peasants poorer, Supreme Court Justice Wm. Douglas reported from personal observation. Nor have Asians failed to notice the disproportion between U. S. Technical Co-operation contributions and military aid to maintain colonial rule. The former was less than $121 million for all S. E. Asia during 1953-54; the latter amounted to over $1 billion in France's war against Indo-Chinese freedom.

DREAMS OF WAR: In the Colombo Plan (formed in 1950 in Colombo, Ceylon, for economic co-operation among S. E. Asian countries, British dominions and the U. S.), and in ECAFE (Economic Commission for Asia & the Far East), Washington has consistently emphasized raw-material production and discouraged industrialization in under-developed countries. During the July session of the UN Economic & Social Council in Geneva, U. S. delegate Preston Hotchkiss' violent attack on ECAFE and other regional commissions made Alvarez del Vayo (**Nation**, 7/17) conclude that

> ". . . the U. S. would like to have Point Four, Technical Assistance, and Economic Regional Planning carried out in intimate connection with the necessities of the cold war."

Washington, in fact, tried to cripple even the UN Technical Assistance program's modest contribution to under-developed countries. In July, Congress withdrew the $17 million the U. S. had pledged to the program for the rest of this and the first half of next year; some of it was later restored only because of universal criticism.

"RED" HUMBUG: Though Washington has paid lip-service to the need for social and economic change in under-developed countries, it has equated the reality of such changes with "communism." In E. Pakistan, where a United Front government "did some good things in its short period of office [and was ready] to deal effectively with the problem of feudal landlordism" (**New Statesman**, 6/26), Washington reportedly helped overthrow it (GUARDIAN, 8/23). In Guatemala (**Nation**, 7/31),

> ". . . the U. S. showed itself to be opposed not only to communism . . . but also to the industrial development of the country [indicating it] opposes not only 'red' but also bourgeois revolutions in backward countries."

The Western allies have shown no better judgment: France still insists on maintaining its economic stranglehold over Tunisia and Morocco; the London **Economist** (6/5) offered

> ". . . the far-flung activities of . . . the United Africa Co. [as] an interesting and under-publicized example of the contribution to the development of an under-developed region made by a commercial firm."

"GET A MOVE ON": Asians are increasingly attracted toward the socialist world for the kind of economic co-operation needed for their betterment, because they have observed the extraordinary industrial progress made by China through Soviet co-operation.

The display of Chinese industrial products at an exhibition in India last year astonished Indian engineers and businessmen. The U. S. S. R. has signed technical aid agreements with such countries as India, Iran and Afghanistan; it has contributed $1 million to the UN Technical Assistance program, and offered its resources and educational facilities to governments and students in under-developed countries.

Not only China, but Indo-China and even N. Korea, have shown remarkable results from socialist planning and reconstruction. As Joseph Starobin has pointed out (**Eye-Witness in Indo-China**), the Vietminh government's ability to raise its people's living standard in the midst of the war itself strengthened their fighting ability. U. S. officials have reported such rapid reconstruction in N. Korea

> ". . . that the Free World's hope of making S. Korea a show-case for democratic progress is doomed to failure unless the U. S., UNKRA and, particularly, President Rhee get a move on" (**Worldwide Press**, 8/10).

MANPOWER IS READY: Too much emphasis has been placed on the under-developed countries' need for technical aid. Commenting on an Asian and European economic development conference last March in Rangoon, Burma, the **Economist** (7/10) considered lack of managers and technicians as "the gravest handicap to healthy growth" in such countries, and advised them to use "restraint in the face of temptation to build" modern industries. In reality, countries like India have a huge pool of unemployed technicians trained in more advanced lands. And China has shown what Asia's almost inexhaustible manpower can accomplish despite lack of modern tools.

An official Indian delegation composed of top-ranking engineering expert Kanwar Sain and director of designs Dr. K. L. Rao, after a 7,500-mile tour of China, gave as an example of intelligent use of manpower the building of the 420-foot wide, 100-mile-long N. Kiangsu Canal, which was completed in 80 days by more than one million peasant laborers. In contrast to Western propaganda about Chinese "forced labor," the Indians

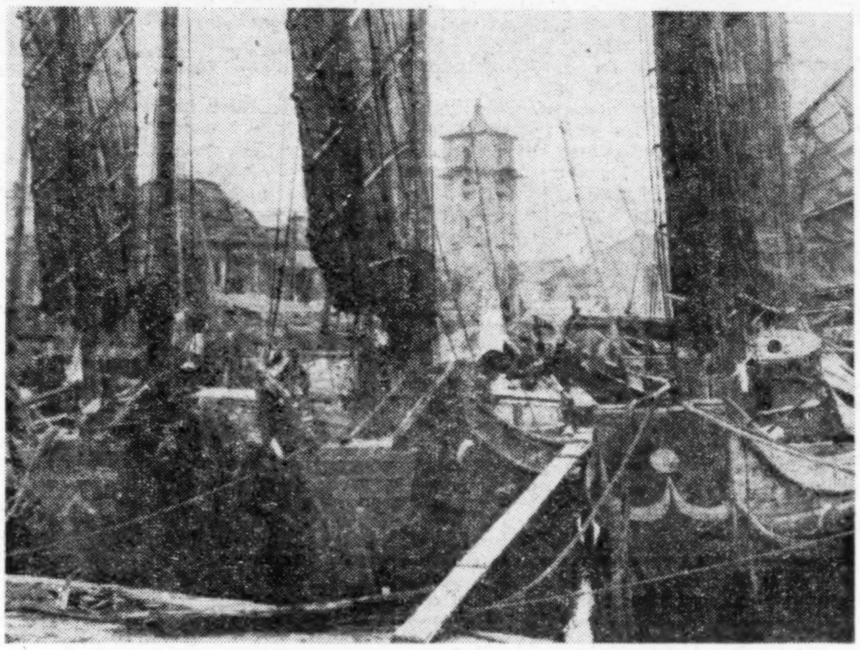
> ". . . observed that the Chinese government laid emphasis on acquainting the workers with the purpose of every project to obtain their fullest co-operation. Every work site provided numerous amenities such as libraries, theaters, music, photo displays and medical and educational facilities. . . . Every worker was paid according to his work and was assured of a minimum wage" (**NYT**, 7/17).

THE GREAT IF: Writing from Singapore during the Geneva conference, the London **Observer**'s correspondent commented (4/25):

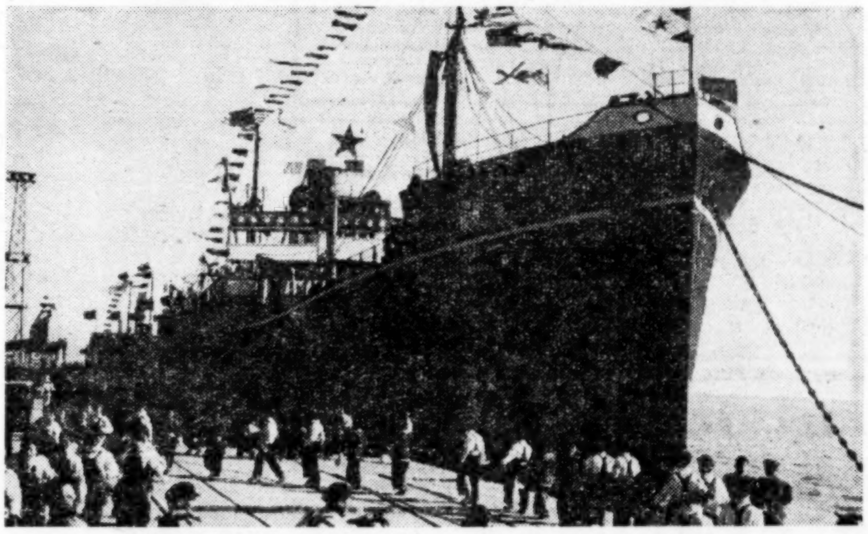
> "Post-war Western aid and investment in the new nations of Asia has barely touched their main problem, which is not to restore their pre-war economy but to create an entirely new one. . . . Is it surprising that when the West talks of the possibility of losing S. E. Asia, politicians out here interpret it as meaning a loss of markets? Or that they listen the more keenly to the tales of [China's] industrialization, told in stupendous statistics?"

To the West's accusation that socialist countries do not really desire industrialization of under-developed countries, the **Observer** correspondent suggested this constructive challenge:

> "If the West could convince the East, as it has thus far failed to do, that it really wishes to live side by side and at peace with Communism . . . the suspicion of the West would diminish. . . . If the free nations of the West would invite Russia and China to join them . . . in a plan to develop industries in backward Asian countries, a whole world of prestige would hang on the Communist answer."



JUNKS CLUTTER FORMOSA'S BEST DEEP-WATER PORT AT KIIRUN
This is the contrast between the old China and the new



NEW 12-SQ.-MI. DEEP-WATER HARBOR FOR TIENTSIN
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What's stopping you, John?

The people of Peiping, once the most individualistic in the world, have become disciplined and, as a result, boring. As for culture—which means Marxist books, pictures, plays and music—it is talked of indefatigably. One soon begins to sympathize with Hermann Goering's reaction to the word—which was to reach for his revolver.

From an article in the N. Y. Times Magazine by John Ridley, London Telegraph correspondent accompanying the Attlee party in China.

200,000th Refugee Flees Indo Reds

Chicago Daily News, Aug. 25, 1954, p. 3

Peasants Stay with Indo Reds

Same paper, same day, p. 13

Can Communism and Christianity live side by side? A witness replies

The following was excerpted from an exclusive article which appeared in the Gazette & Daily of York, Pa., Aug. 31, 1954.

EVANSTON, Ill.—A Christian witness behind the Iron Curtain warned Americans to treat with "great caution" the tales of Communist repression and persecution brought to the West by refugees from that area.

Prof. Josef L. Hromodka, delegate to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches from the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, affirmed that these refugee reports were "greatly exaggerated." He also described himself as a "completely free man—freer, even, than the Communists themselves."

"I want you to take me literally when I say that," the theological scholar of Prague declared. In an unusually frank discussion of Communist society by a non-Marxist citizen of that society, he bolstered the claim by freely challenging the materialist basis of Marxism, and what he called its "tendency to absolutize its dogma" as against the Protestant "subordination to a Higher realm."

At the same time, he made a plea for Western understanding of the real meaning of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet East, "with which we have no quarrel."

DENIES PERSECUTION: The Christian leader denied unequivocally that there had been religious persecution or restrictions on religious activities of the churches in Czechoslovakia and he emphasized that socialism and religion had not been found to be incompatible.

Dr. Hromodka has found Americans "too schematic" in their notions of the socialist world, and he said he encountered so many "stupid" questions based on "highly colored" information that he found the effort to get through to American minds "very exasperating."

During the discussion on the H-bomb problem in the section on international affairs, Dr. Charles Malik, Lebanon's UN delegate and an Assembly consultant from the Greek Orthodox Church, advised the churchmen "to do nothing about anything about which you know nothing."

In his own comments Dr. Hromodka said:

"It is true that as churchmen we do not know the technical details of these weapons. But we do know the terrible suffering they bring."

The 100-member section burst into the loudest applause heard at their sessions.

Dr. Hromodka said:

"We find ourselves in a total reconstruction of our society. It is misleading to think in terms of totalitarianism or any ism.

"In such a period there are people—perhaps many people—who are unsatisfied and discontented. They are being deprived of the political or economic position they held. People who never had a say about anything are being called upon to take responsible positions. What is happening is not abolishment of freedom but a shift of freedom from one section of society to another.

"Yes, there were excesses, and certainly no true Christian would act as the Communists sometimes acted. But I think we are over that period. And the real question is whether the change has brought satisfaction to the vast and growing working population—workers in education, science and culture, as well as in industry and agriculture.

"We haven't arrived yet, and we don't expect paradise. But there have been great advances. People in all walks of life enjoy greater security.

"In all this we are seeking new forms of freedom. Of course, we are not there yet. But it is a deeper aspect of freedom that goes to the base of human life."

THE CHALLENGE: Dr. Hromodka voiced the belief that only a positive, constructive Christianity that was "alive for the people" would survive against Communism. He said:

"It is not persecution we face, but a tremendous challenge. The people in responsible positions in Communist society work much harder than Christians do. They have perspective. They have convictions and devotion and self-commitment. They are selfless.

"The Communists do not stifle our religion, but they do seek to win the people to the Marxist ideology. We can only combat the appeal they make by building a church so spiritually strong and a Christianity so responsible that it is relevant to people. . . . Faith must be real. I tell my people, don't criticize the Communists but exceed them in the purity of your own integrity and selflessness."

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NEW YORK

ALP sets 100,000-vote target; Primary Day in city is Sept. 14

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK's 1954 political campaign — which could mean life or death for the American Labor Party—opens formally on Primary Day, Sept. 14. The voters who turn out for the ALP in the primary balloting and, more significantly, those who enroll in the ALP in the first week of October (Registration Week), will decide the party's future.

In an emergency session late last month ALP leaders saw at least 100,000 votes in prospect. The party needs 50,000 votes for Governor to remain on the ballot. The state-wide slate will be nominated in convention Sept. 23 at Manhattan Center, allowing little more than one month of intensive campaigning.

NO MORE DOUBT: The ALP State News, a campaign organ, quoted one spokesman at the emergency session: "If there was ever any doubt about the importance of the ALP's gubernatorial campaign, the gang-up support of Democrats and Republicans on the 'anti-constitution' bill (the Brownell legislation) resolves that doubt."

The State News summarized its campaign appeal this way:

"The ALP is the only political expression in New York State in 1954 which echoes a clear-cut call for the Bill of Rights, for peace, for an end to McCarthyism in any form, shape or manner. We concluded that only the ALP line on the ballot offers the people a truly independent vote on these critical issues.

"We are determined to make our ALP campaign a challenge to Democratic, Republican and Liberal Party candidates to face the issues of unemployment, the extension of social security, the protection of the rights of unions, the defense of the Bill of Rights, the need for full Negro and Puerto Rican representation, the complete elimination of discrimination from every phase of American life, fairer taxes, more schools, hospitals and playgrounds."

ADAM C. POWELL
Tougher going this year

NEGROES IN OFFICE: On the question of Negro and Puerto Rican representation the ALP spelled out its challenge to the other parties, pointing out that out of 150 Assemblymen only five are Negroes; of 58 State Senators, one is a Negro; of 43 N. Y. Congressmen, one is a Negro. There is no Negro in the state Supreme Court.

The ALP offered to join in any movement, across all party lines, to elect one Negro to a state-wide office, another to a seat on the state Supreme Court.

In its own campaign for Puerto Rican representation the ALP charged that political machines have tried to keep Puerto Ricans from the polls by discrimination and literacy requirements. The ALP's Council on Puerto Rican Affairs has launched a campaign to register and enroll Puerto Ricans, extend educational help to meet literacy requirements.

In addition to its state-wide candidates, the ALP will have over 60 other candidates in the city. In many areas where the ALP at present has a blank line, write-in candidacies are reported.

BEDFORD-STUYVESANT: Primary Day will decide few major contests in the big parties, but real issues underlie battles in some districts. In the 11th SD (Bedford-Stuyvesant) the Bedford - Stuyvesant League, which grew out of the movement that elected Justice Lewis S. Flagg Jr. over machine opposition, has backed William Chisholm, a Negro, for State Senate in the Democratic primary. The Democratic machine named a white man, Walter E. Cook. Then, in what appeared to be a machine maneuver to divide the Negro vote, Assemblyman Bertram Baker, a Negro who has worked closely with the machine, threw his support to another Negro nominee, Oliver D. Williams.

Baker himself is opposed for district leader in Brooklyn's 6th AD by Wesley McD. Holder, chairman of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League.

POWELL'S BATTLE: Rep. Adam C. Powell, the city's most influential Negro political leader, is fighting for the Democratic nomination against district leader Herbert Bruce in Manhattan's 16th CD. Undercurrents indicate a possible move by party big-wigs to scuttle Powell. Powell broke with Bruce during the last mayoralty campaign when Bruce backed Mayor Impellitteri. Since then Powell has organized a rival district machinery and endeavored to win back for the district the patronage lost by Bruce's picking the wrong horse.

In Brooklyn's 8th CD Judge Victor Anfuso is contesting the Democratic nomination for Congress against Joseph P. Marcelle. He is basing his campaign on a pledge to repeal the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act.

Queens Democratic Boss James A. Roe is fighting to retain control of the borough's machine against pro-Wagner insurgents. In Queens' 11th AD Jocelyn Smith is bidding to be the first Negro Assemblyman from the borough in a fight against Democratic incumbent Daniel Clarke.

Manhattan's 18th CD, originally slated to be the most significant battleground in the city, faced a quiet campaign—haunted by what might have been if Vito Marcantonio had not died. Rep. James G. Donovan, chosen by Republicans and Democrats to stop Marcantonio, was trying to hold his coalition together in the face of a bid by Democrat Caspar H. Citron.

WOLTMAN'S BOGEY: In the Bronx 24th CD, where Communist Party leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is running for Congress as an independent, petition gatherers were aiming at 3,000 signatures. The N.Y. World Telegram's Frederick Woltman twice warned his readers that signatures on her petitions were being turned over to the police and the FBI.

VICTOR ANFUSO
McCarran is no friend

On Sept. 1 Woltman, clearly with an eye to frightening signers, repeated his statement and added:

"That's the regular procedure with Communist and American Labor Party candidates, a Board of Elections spokesman said."

The Board's chief clerk Thomas Mallee told the GUARDIAN he had no idea who authorized such a statement, that no names were turned over to the FBI, but that all signatures on petitions were available to the public in general. He added that for many years the FBI has had three men constantly at work combing election board records.

EYE ON 1956?

Dewey bids politics adieu — this year

A FOLKSY Thomas E. Dewey said what apparently was his political farewell over radio and TV last week. He chatted with calculated informality—from a prepared text—to erase the nickname of the "mechanical man" that hounded him throughout his 24 years of political life.

Though he said with great firmness: "I shall not under any circumstances be a candidate for public office," he added: "this fall." That seemed to leave him available for 1956. The Governor had tried twice before to leave Albany but always with the White House in mind.

WASHINGTON HO? Whether or not he would try again for the Presidency, few took seriously his decision to return to "private life." Having failed to win election to national office he might still get there by appointment. President Eisenhower might replace Secy. of State Dulles with him or give him a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court, where retirements are expected.

Dewey all but named his successor. His recital of his 12-year record in Albany stressed the legislation for which Sen. Irving M. Ives could claim credit. He pointedly announced Ives "would make a good Governor."

CAMPAIGN TACTICS: If Ives is nominated and elected, he could offer yet another chance for Dewey to go to Washington. There would be a vacant Senate seat and Ives as Governor could then appoint Dewey. The Senate's forum could serve to keep him in the public eye until 1956.

Dewey's withdrawal from the race could change the campaign picture. Originally the Democrats were expected to run Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., against the man FDR Sr. beat for the Presidency in 1944. Deweyism, with its corruption on the race tracks, and its skimping on the city, was to be the target.

Though Dewey's blessing will be held against Ives, Ives-ism would seem a more difficult target.

The Communist Control Act of 1954 — where the main danger lies

(Continued from Page 1)

infiltrated" organizations, which may not act as collective bargaining agents for workers. The tests for determining when a labor union is such an organization are the usual vague ones with which loyalty board and Subversive Activities Control Board procedures have made us familiar.

The political nature of the test is indicated by two facts, among others: (1) affiliates of the major labor federations are presumed prima facie not to be "infiltrated"; (2) one test is whether an officer aided the "Communist movement" within the last two or three years (both periods are mentioned). This recognizes the labor movement's debt to many union leaders and workers characterized as radicals in the 1930's and 1940's, and admits that a statute of limitations is needed to protect those who have now found collaboration with government and employers more desirable.

The passage of this law also shows the Administration's inability to proceed under the 1950 Internal Security Act against labor unions as Communist-front organizations—this despite the language of and wide breadth of that law. It also reflects the failure of efforts to wipe out the former CIO unions by the Taft-Hartley Law, NLRB decisions and employer action, although some unions were dismembered and all injured. However, the objective, here as always, is not a selected group of unions, but all unions, taking them in order of imputed "radicalism" so as to avoid what used to be called without opprobrium a "united front."

Fred Wright in Monthly Review, N. Y.
"I know absolutely nothing about the case. I'm just here to help frame the defendant. . . ."

THE ADMINISTRATION undoubtedly will start proceedings before election against one or more labor unions. Not only will it seek to derive political advantage, but the unions' concentration upon their defense will necessarily minimize their effectiveness in carrying out their normal functions. The only answer lies in a court suit supported by a substantial part of the labor movement and posing the fundamental issue:

Is a government agency or the workers to decide on their collective bargaining agent?

Admittedly, the decision in ACA vs. Douds upholding the non-Communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law reflects a dangerous tendency which might be applied to this case. But the decision in that case was a split one, 4-4; the issue seemed to be a narrow one; the standards were not as vague and amorphous as in the present law, and the attempt to control labor was not as blatant. By the time ACA vs. Douds was argued, the labor movement had split and parts of it were seeking to use the law against others. It remains to be seen whether the lesson has been learned.

If this part of the new law is not declared unconstitutional, open governmental control of our unions will have been inaugurated for the first time in Anglo-American history.

93 UNFRIENDLY WITNESSES

Survey shows 49 lost jobs or were hurt for refusing to knuckle under to Joe

THE Christian Science **Monitor**, one of the soberest of U.S. daily newspapers, last month published the results of an exhaustive survey of the public inquiries conducted by Sen. Joe McCarthy. Carefully refraining from offering a judgment of the Senator and his works, the **Monitor** nevertheless stated as "flat general conclusions":

"Sen. McCarthy has not found a single Communist spy whose guilt stands proved in court.

"No person charged with treason by the Senator has been indicted.

"In 14 months of public inquiries (from Feb., 1958, to March, 1954) and hundreds of pages of testimony he found only six current employes of the U.S. Government who pleaded the Fifth Amendment (one of these is still working and the others resigned or were dismissed). . . .

"In addition to the six Fifth Amendment cases found in government, there are only nine other government workers whose loyalty he brought into question—and who did not use the Fifth Amendment but testified freely. Of these, five still hold their jobs because the administration has found nothing conclusive against them; two resigned; two were dismissed."

103 UNCOOPERATIVE: All told, 200 witnesses appeared before the McCarthy committee in the period under review; 77 of these were cooperative. Of the 103 non-cooperative witnesses, 85 invoked the Fifth Amendment, one declined to talk on "grounds of conscience" and six invoked the First Amendment. All of the latter group have been cited for contempt by the Senate and one has been indicted.

Of the 92 who refused to talk, 43 had no action taken against them but

the other 49 either lost their jobs or were penalized in some other fashion, like GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage, now under deportation proceedings following his appearance before the committee. Sixteen of those who lost their jobs were employes of General Electric.

A QUIZ FOR JOE: For inflicting punishment upon persons against whom no formal charges of misconduct were ever made, the Senator has a disturbingly high batting average, but for his own professed aims of uncovering Communists and spies in government he is condemned by his own record as a dismal fraud.

Over the weekend a famed psychologist offered a suggestion to McCarthy. Dr. C. M. Gilbert, Assoc. Prof. of Psychology at Michigan State College, who served as the prison psychologist during the Nuremberg war crimes trials of the top Nazis, told a convention of the American Psychological Assn. that McCarthy is guilty of "compulsive or systematic distortions of the truth" and urged the Senator to submit to psychological examination "in his own interest as well as that of the country he professes to defend."

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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American Socialist Forum
GENEVA:
GATEWAY TO CO-EXISTENCE?
Speaker: **HARRY BRAVERMAN**, co-editor The American Socialist, Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (nr. 14 St.) Questions and Discussion. Donation: 75c.

FRI., SEPT. 17 — 8 P.M. "McCarthyism and the 1954 Election." Speaker: Myra Tanner Weiss. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. Contribution: 50c. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

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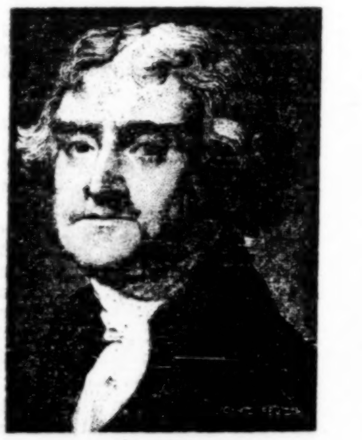
'Jefferson in Power'

(Continued from Page 2)

Liberty Book Club came into being as the same time as the GUARDIAN, in late 1948. Since then it has issued a dozen books a year to a growing list of subscribers, and virtually every book has been not only of top literary quality but also almost always directed to some important political or social point.

Thus three of the past year's books have hit at the bases of colonialism in today's world: Phyllis Altman's **The Law of the Vultures**, about South Africa's struggle against white supremacy and oppression; **Two Leaves and a Bud**, by International Peace Prize winner Mulk Raj Anand, a beautifully written story of the people under British tea plantation rule in Asia; and Basil Davidson's **Daybreak in China.** Among this year's other selections have been James Welland's **Summer at the Castle**, a novel of a British scientist caught in the web of police-state repression; B. Traven's remarkable **Rebellion of the Hanged**, about a peons' uprising in the mahogany forests of Latin America; and Prof. John Somerville's **The Philosophy of Peace.** This last book (July selection) has become Liberty Book Club's 1954 "sleeper," judging by readers' mail approval of a completely unheralded work.



JEFFERSON

Liberty has in addition during the past several years introduced many American readers to the powerful Danish writer Martin Andersen Nexo (who died this year in his 80's); to Ireland's Sean O'Casey; to the first novel to emerge from New China, **Daughters and Sons** by Kung Chueh and Yuan Ching; and the story of the heroic Canadian surgeon, Dr. Norman Bethune, who helped the people's forces in both Spain and China, and has been immortalized in **The Scalpel, the Sword** by Ted Allan and Sydney Gordon.

Even big league baseball has had its innings at Liberty, with Mark Harris' **The Southpaw**, the most expert baseball story of many a year and the only one with insight into the breakthrough of Negro players in the major leagues.

A LONGER LIST of Liberty Books over the years would recall dozens more important, handsomely printed and timely works made available at book-club prices. Among them are Prof. Barrows Dunham's **Giant in Chains**, a philosophical "expose" of the ruling systems of thought in modern times; Robert Brittain's **Let There Be Bread**, on how the world's resources could be conserved and distributed for the people's needs; and Vivian Hallinan's **My Wild Irish Rogues**, a wife's story of the unvanquished Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, and their six sons all named after Irish patriots.

Proved best by test in the past five years, Liberty is the best buy ever in book clubs. Many of the foregoing books are available as premiums on joining. **Jefferson in Power** is a $2.25 book; most other Liberty books cost $1.64 plus postage.

—J. T. M.

JEFFERSON IN POWER by Claude G. Bowers. Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23d St., N.Y. 11, N.Y. 538 pp. $2.25 to Liberty members (plus 25c postage—N.Y.C. members add 7c sales tax).

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ANTI-SEGREGATION TAKES EFFECT

Negro pupils registering without waiting for instructions from the Supreme Court

WHEN the Supreme Court outlawed jimcrow public schools last May, it announced that this fall it would hear arguments on whether its ruling should be effected immediately or gradually, or postponed until the court issued instructions on how to integrate. But as zero hour for school opening approached, Negro parents and students and their supporters were going ahead without waiting for further instructions.

They got encouragement Sept. 4 from a committee of 19 experts on race relations. Representing educational bodies throughout the country, and meeting in conjunction with the 62d annual session in N. Y. of the American Psychological Assn., the committee reported that, since "the threat of violence has often been used as a device to postpone or prevent desegregation," the high court decision should be put into effect at once. The committee pointed out that acts of violence are

"... more likely to occur in those communities in which there is a tradition of general lawlessness, political corruption and criminal contamination of the police power."

TROUBLE SPOTS: That description seemed to fit sections of Alabama, from which dispatches for weeks have told of the "contamination" of top municipal and county officials. Twenty-three Negro children were denied enrollment in a Montgomery elementary school on opening day. Another group was turned away from a lilywhite Birmingham school. Parents in both cases promised to sue.

Virginia's Gov. Thomas B. Stanley set up a 32-member school jimcrow "study" commission without naming one Negro. "Just why the Governor would again ignore Virginia's largest racial minority, the Negroes, who largely supported him in the November election," a spokesman for the Virginia Voters League observed, wasn't "clearly understood." He recalled that one of Stanley's campaign pledges was to "appoint Negroes to several commissions, especially those that affect Negroes."

DIXIE DEFIANCE: An honor graduate of an Austin Negro high school was barred from the University of Texas. Thirty Negro children, accompanied by an attorney seeking to make a test case, were kept from registering at a Baton Rouge, La., white elementary school. But the Washington Post (9/5) reported that "three out of 10 students will attend integrated public schools" in D. C. when they open Sept. 13.

Syndicated columnist David Lawrence has challenged the Supreme Court ruling on the ground that, rejected by white parents, the Negro teacher will have a hard time finding another job. Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People counsel Thurgood Marshall has answered Lawrence indirectly; the Baltimore **Afro-American**, directly and in detail. Said the **Afro** (9/4):

"As for the colored teachers, there will be some resentment in the beginning, but it will quickly disappear.

"Colored women do most of the intimate things for white children in the far South. They nurse the white baby as soon as it is born. They guide its infant steps, change its diapers, bathe it, dress it from infancy to adolescence, feed it, comfort it, are closer to it and share more of its confidences, in many cases, than its own mother.

"Why an unlettered colored nurse should be praised for suckling a white child and a colored teacher be condemned for teaching it its a, b, c's, or its multiplication table, no student of logic can understand."

The **Afro** concluded that this "threat that desegregation will be a real test of something is unfounded," for "good will and good sense in the white community" will prevail.

HISTORY WAS MADE THIS DAY IN BALTIMORE
For the first time a Negro and white child register together

DEAR OLD (BULGING) GOLDEN RULE DAYS

City schools show little over-crowding relief; L. I. kids go to classes in kennels and garages

"THE KIDDIES will just about come to school and get their cookies and milk and go home."

That was the outlook for Levittown kindergarteners predicted, as school opened, by Supt. Walter Crusen. Kindergartens there will be on quadruple session and the overflow children will have to be cared for in churches.

Children fared as badly in most other parts of Long Island where massive real estate developments have boomed with little or no planning for the necessary schools. West Islip's overflow children will go to six classrooms in remodeled dog kennels on what used to be the Guggenheim estate. Some 1st and 2nd grade children as well as kindergarteners will go to done-over garages (known as the Mole Annex) in Amityville. Firehouses and hotels will be used as schools elsewhere on the island.

7 NEW SCHOOLS: In the city itself children will not be housed in garages, but classes will be jam-packed and many children will attend school in fire-traps and antiquated buildings. (Of 800 schools in the city, 365 are over 50 years old.) Last year some 400,000 (78%) of the city's elementary school pupils were in oversized classes (more than 30 students).

The Board of Education has announced the opening of seven new schools which, with improvements in some others, will accommodate 22,500. Even if registration remains the same as last year, scarcely a dent will be made in the overall crowding. Many children will still attend double- or triple-session schools. The Board of Education declined to say how many, but said there would be fewer than last year.

The reason lay not so much in new facilities as in new age requirements that will bar some 30,000 children ordinarily eligible for school. (Age limits were recently raised from 4 years., 4 mos. to 4 yrs., 8 mos. for kindergarten; 5 yrs., 4 mos. to 5 yrs., 8 mos. for 1st grade.)

MISSING TEACHERS: Space is not the only shortage in the school system. The scarcity of teachers is a tighter straitjacket for the school system. The junior high schools are where the pinch is felt most sharply. Though other school divisions show no spectacular rise in registration, the flood tide of the war-born children will be reaching the junior high schools this month and enrollment is expected to rise from 116,000 to 134,000.

Last year there were 1,331 unfilled vacancies on the JHS staff. In three Manhattan schools more than half the teachers were either substitutes or teaching without licenses. In 17 other JHS's these "fill-ins" comprised from 40-48% of the faculties. Supt. of Schools Jansen estimated the city's total teacher shortage at 4,500 this term.

OPENS SEPT. 30

'Sholem' plays here 3 weeks

THE World of Sholom Aleichem will reopen for a 3-week run at the Barbizon-Plaza Theater Sept. 30. Presented by Rachel Productions, the show originally opened for 20 performances in May, 1953, and ran for 40 weeks.

Morris Carnovsky will again be starred in Arnold Perl's dramatization in English of three stories by the classic Yiddish humorists, Sholom Aleichem and I. L. Peretz. The show is due to open its national tour immediately after the three-week run.

The Earl Robinson-Waldo Salt musical **Sandhog**, which is being co-produced by Rachel with the Phoenix Theater, is set to open Nov. 23.

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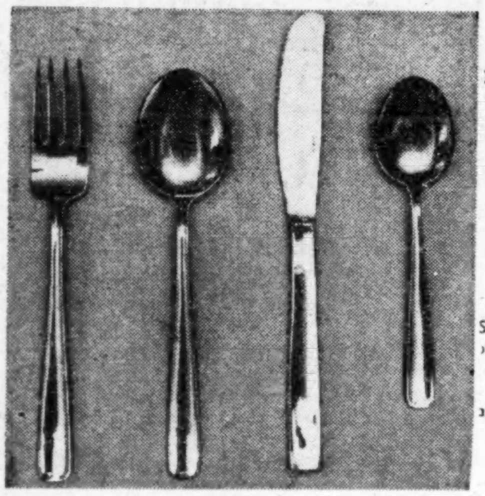

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the SPECTATOR

The mountain talks back

For the most part American intellectuals are little men who aren't there, especially when the McCarthys are around. Most of them have taken to the hills where, for years, they have been contemplating their novels and their easels.

And so it will go. Of course, polite people avoid noisy carnivals as a rule. The catch here is that the plan calls for compulsory attendance. And it will be compulsory unless people stop running to the hills. In any case, it won't help: there are only ant hills left by now. —THE SPECTATOR, Aug. 16, 1954

ERWIN, TENN.

I WRITE YOU NOT IN PEEVE but in the hope of giving you a little light on the Hill business. For I am a hill man who fled the "stinking maggot-heaps" (to quote Scott Nearing) of Philadelphia, New York and Chicago some 15 years ago. And worse, I'm working on a novel and my wife uses an artist's easel!

I changed from a city man to a hill man because the city threw me out. At one of the great (?) universities, I was given my choice between ceasing my writings on monopoly or getting out. A bribe was offered if I'd choose "safely" (raise in salary and life tenure). I chose to be a free man and gave up job, property and family and became a tramp.

I met up with an artist girl in New York. We married and hung on in New York and Chicago for some years by the skin of our teeth; she developed a chronic sore throat from the city's foul air and, chucking it all up, we came to the Tennessee hills. I came first to explore and walked 300 miles with a young mountaineer till a cheap and suitable place was found. When I brought the wife down, we had between us the grand total of 50 cents. She is now 50 and I'm nearing 70; our health is good and we have learned how to live simply without the city.

NOW IF YOU THINK the hills are a SAFE place to retreat to, let me tell you that the Secret Police of Wall St. and Washington annoy one far more down here than if we lived in the city. If one wants to HIDE, the city is by all means the place, not the hills.

But somebody has to live at the grassroots, don't they? And if no intellectuals, how do you think the strong and stalwart mountain folk would ever learn that the Alice in Wonderland stuff carried by the city's radio and press, comics and movies, is one grand and never-ending lie? To assist in lifting the children of illiterate parents or grandparents toward intellectual light, is to me a very worthwhile and useful and inspiring thing. To be able to give out GUARDIANS and pictures of the real New China, and so on, to these fine Americans who thirst for knowledge and truth and social light; and to be able to translate their opinions and needs in writings for the GUARDIAN, etc., is also a privilege and a joy.

I told Howard Fast, just before he left for prison, what fine, stalwart, brave Americans my neighbors of the hills were. The first thing when he got out of prison in Virginia, he wrote me "How right you are!" He had associated with many mountaineers in prison . . . largely there for making whisky which, by their lights, John Rockefeller's Whisky Trust has no right to hog all the trade in. . . .

IF YOU KNOW your Russian history, recall that Lenin spent a long time in the hills. Writing away in his little hogan made of a few hides and willows and mud. Would you have had him remain in the slums of St. Petersburg, or in the Czar's city prison —when he had writing work to do and the will and the need and the inspiration to live? And there is our great intellect and teacher, Scott Nearing, who has long lived in the Vermont hills and has of late transferred to the wilds of Maine. Would his contribution have been half as good if he had rotted away in your foul city slums? In South Chicago or East Philadelphia or the "Village?"

Ten miles from where I live in these-thar golden hills, is where that little band of Revolutionary War patriots assembled at Roan Mountain and marched down to Charlotte, N. C., and won the battle of King's Mountain there, and ended George III's rule over the U. S. A. Mountain Men all. Say you that the hills dwindled THEM down to cowards and weaklings?

Remember the coal miners of the hills in Spain. How they were the first to follow La Passionaria and start the drive against the tyranny that our Wall St. government has since seen fit to underwrite and put back on the backs of the Spanish working class. Sturdy old Dan Boone also was a man of my very same hills. And would you call HIM any puny anti-hill man?

Here in these hills I am far more in touch with world events than most college alumni or average city-dwellers in the "intellectual" class. I get mail in my woodland mail-box from all over, and send out my thoughts and reactions in the same way. In fact, up on top a mountain is one of the best places in the world to get a wide view of things and people.

Ernest Seeman

(A Guardian Associate—and proud of it)